THE PRESIDENT'S APOLOGY

Message to the Senate on Louisiana.

THE FEDERAL CASE STATED.

The Elections of 1872 "a Gigantic Fraud."

NO RELIABLE RETURNS.

"Kellogg Obtained Possession of the Office, and, in My Opinion, Has More Right To It Than His Competitor"

Sheridan's Policy, If Legal, "A Sure Remedy."

BLAME THROWN ON CONGRESS.

A Long Series of Despatches and Reports.

THE LIEUTENANT GENERAL'S MURDER LIST.

What is Thought of the Message in Washington.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1875.

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:I have the honor to make the following answer to a Senate resolution of the 8th inst., asking for information as to any interference by any military officer or any part of the army of the United States with ganization or proceedings of the General Assemthereof, and also inquiring in regard to the existence of armed organizations in that State hostile to the government thereof and intent on overturning such government by force.

To say that lawlessness, turbulence and blood-shed have characterized the political affairs of that State since its organization under the reconstruction acts is only to repeat what has become well known as a part of its unhappy history. But it may be proper here to refer to the election of 1868, by which the republican vote of the State, through fraud and violence, was reduced to a few thousands, and to the bloody riots of 1866 and 1868, to show that the disorders there are not due to any recent causes or to any late action of the federal

AN UNDISGUISED CONSPIRACY. Preparatory to the election of 1872 a shameful and undisguised conspiracy was formed to carry that election against the republicans without regard to law or right, and to that end the most glaring trauds and lorgeries were committed in the returns after many colored citizens had been denied registration and others deterred by fear from casting their ballots. When the time came for a final canvass of the votes in view of the foregoing facts William P. Kellogg, the republican candidate for Governor, brought suit upon the equity side of the United States Circuit Court for Louisiana and against Varmoth and others who had obtained possession of the returns of the election, representing that several thousand voters of the State had been deprived of the elective franchise on account of their color, and praying that steps might be taken to

have said votes counted, and for general relief. To enable the Court to inquire as to the truth of the allegations a temporary restraining order was ued against the defendants, which was at once wholly disregarded and treated with contempt by nose to whom it was directed. These proceed ings have been widely denounced as an unwar-Pantable interference by the federal judiciary with bered that, by the Fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, the political equality of colored citizens is secured, and, under the second section of that amendment, provided that Congress shall have power to enforce its pro-

visions by appropriate legislation. AN ACT SECURING COLORED SUFFRAGE. An act was passed on the Sist of May, 1870, and amended in 1871, the object of which was to prevent the dental or abridgment of the suffrage to citizens on account of race, color, or previous conrederal judges before whom the question has Court, that the protection afforded by this amendment and these acts extends to State as well as other elections; and that it is the duty of the federal courts to enforce the provisions of the constitution of the United States and the laws passed in pursuance thereof is too clear to admit of controversy.

Section 15 of the said act, after numerous pro Visions therein to prevent an evasion of the Fifteenth amendment, provides that the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of the United States shall extend to all cases in law or equity arising under the provisions of said act and of the act amendatory thereof. Congress seems to have contemplated equitable as well as legal proceedings to prevent the denial of suffrage to colored citizens, and it may be asserted that if Kellogg's bill in the above named case did not present a case for the equitable interposition of the Court such case can arise under the act. That the courts of the United States have the right to interiere in various ways with State elecons so as to maintain political equality and rights therein, irrespective of race or color, is comstartling idea. But it results as clearly from the Fif teenth amendment to the constitution and the acts that have been passed to enforce that amendmen as the abrogation of State laws upsetting slavery, results from the Thirteenth amendment to the constitution. While the jurisdiction of the court in the case of Keilogg vs. Warmoth and others is clear to my mind, it seems that some of the orders made by the Judge in that and the kindred case of Antoine were illegal. But while they are so held and considered it is not to be forgotten that the mandate of his Court had been contemptouously defied, and they were made while wild scenes of anarchy were sweeping away all restraint of law and order. Doubtless the Judge of this Court made grave mistakes; but the law allows him great latitude, not only in punishing those who condemn his orders and injunctions, but in preventing the consumma-

HIS EXCELLENCY'S OPINION. Whatever may be said or thought of those matters it was only made known to me that the pro-cess of the United States Court was resisted. and, as said acts especially provide for the use of the army and navy when necessary to enforce judicial process arising thereunder, I considered it my duty to see that such process was executed according these proceedings, through various controversies and complications, a State administration was organized with William P. Kellogg as Governor, which, in the discharge of my duty under section 4, article 4 of the constitution, I have recognized

as the government of the State. It has been bitterly and persistently alleged that Kellogg was not elected. Whether he was or not the State and repress the continued violence

is not altogether certain, nor is it any more certain that his competitor McEnery was chosen. The election was a gigantic fraud, and there are no reliable returns of its result.

Kellogg obtained possession of the office, and in my opinion has more right to it than his compet-

THE GREAT CRIME SO CALLED On the 20th of February, 1873, the Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate made a report in which they say they were satisfied by testimony that manipulation of the election machin-ery by Warmoth and others was equivalent to 20,000 votes, and they add that to recognize the McEnery overnment, would be recognizing a government based upon fraud in deflance of the wishes and intention of the voters of the State, assuming the correctness of the statements in this report, and they seem to have been generally accepted by the country.

The great crime in Louisiana about which so much has been said, is, that one is holding the office of Governor who was cheated out of 20,000 votes, against another whose title to the office is, undoubtedly, based on fraud and in deflance of the wishes and intentions of the voters of the State. Misinformed and misjudging as to the nature and extent of this report the supporters of McEnery proceeded to displace by force in some countles of the State the appointees of Governor Kellogg, and on the 13th of April, in an effort of that kind a butchery of citizens was committed at Colfax which in blood turstiness and barbarity is hardly surpassed by any acts of savage warfare.

A NUMBER OF NEGROES KILLED. To put this matter beyond controversy I quote from the charge of Judge Woods, of the United States Circuit Court, to the jury in the case of the United States vs. Cruikshank and others, in New Orleans, in March, 1874. He said, "In the case on trial there are many facts not in controversy. I proceed to state some of them in the presence and hearing of counsel on both sides, and if I state as a conceded fact any matter that is dis-puted they can correct me." After stating the origin of the difficulty which grew out of an attempt of white persons to drive the parish judge and sheriff appointees of Kellogg from office, and their attempted protection by colored persons, which led to some fighting, in which quite a number of negroes were killed, the Judge states:—"Most of those who were not killed were taken prisoners. Fifteen or sixteen of the blacks had lifted the boards and taken refuge under the floor of the Court House They were all captured. About thirty-seven men were taken prisoners—the number is not definitely fixed. They were kept under guard until dark. They were led out two by two and shot; most of the men were shot to death, a few were wounded, not mortally, and, by pretending to be dead, were afterward, during the night, able to make their escape. Among them was the Levi Nelson, named in the indictment.

The dead bodies of the negroes killed in this affair were left unburied until Tuesday, April 15, when they were buried by a deputy marsual and an officer of the militia from New Orleans.

These persons found fifty-nine bodies. They showed pistol shot wounds, the great majority in the head, and the rest of them in the back of the

In addition to the fifty-nine dead bodies some charred remains of dead bodies were discovered near the court house. Six dead bodies were found under a warehouse, all shot in the head, but one or two were shot in the breast. The only white man injured from the beginning of these troubles to their close was Hadnot Harris. The Court House and its contents were entirely consumed. There is no evidence that any one in the crowd of whites bore any lawful warrant for the arrest of any of the blacks. There is no evidence that either Nash or Cazabot after the affair ever demanded the offices to which they had set up claim; but the Register continued to act as the parish judge and Shaw as Speriff.

"BLOODY AND MONSTROUS CRIME." These are the facts in this case as understand them to be admitted. To hold the people of Louisiana generally responsible for these atroctties would not be just, but it is a lamentable fact the insuperable obstructions were thrown in the way of punishing these murderers and the so-called conservative papers of the State not only justified the massacre but denounced as federal tyranny and despottsm the attempt of the United States officers to bring them to justice. Fierce denunciaholding and election matters in Louisiana, while every one of the Colfax miscreants goes unwhipped of justice, and no way can be found in this boasted land of civilization and Christianity to punish the perpetrators of this bloody and

THE COUSHATTA MASSACRE.

Not unlike this was the massacre of August last. Several Northern young men of capital and entertown of Coushatta. Some of them were republicans and office-holders under Kellogg. They were, therefore, doomed to death. Six of them were secured and carried away from their homes and killed in cold blood. No one has been punished, and the conservative press of the State denounced all efforts to that end and poidly justified the crime. Many murders of like character have been committed in individual cases which cannot here be detailed. For example, S. S. Crawford and Judge P. H. Harris, District Attorney of the Twelith Judidistrict of the State, on their way to court, were shot from their horses by men in am-bush on the 8th of October, 1873, and the widow of the former, in a communication to the Department of Justice, tells a piteons tale of the persecutions of her husband because he was a Union man, and of the efforts made to screen those who had committed a crime which, to use her language, "left two widows and nine orphans desolate." To say that the murder of a negro or white citizen was not considered a crime in Louisiana would probably be unjust to a great part of the people, but it is true that a great number of such murders have been committed, and no one has been punished therefor, and manifestly, as to them, a spirit of hatred and violence is

stronger than law.

A PICTURE IN DARK COLORS.

Representations were made to me that the presence of troops in Louisiana was unnecessary and irritating to the people, and that there was no danger of public disturbance if they were taken away. Consequently, early in last summer the troops were all withdrawn from the State with the exception of a small garrison at New Orleans barracks. It was claimed that a comparative state of quiet had supervened. Political excitement as to Louisiana fairs seemed to be dying out, but the November election was approaching, and it was necessary for party purposes that the flame should be rekin-Accordingly, on the 14th of September, D. O. Penn, claiming that he was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1872, issued an inflammatory proclamation calling upon the militia of the State to arm. assemble and drive from power the usurpers, as

he designated the officers of the State.
The White Leagues armed and, ready for the conflict, premptly responded. On the same day the Governor made a formal requisition upon me 4 of the constitution, to aid in suppressing domes-tic violence. On the next day I issued my proclamation commanding the insurgents to dis-perse within five days from the date in New Orleans the organized and armed forces recognizing a usurping Governor had taken forcible possession of the State House, and temporarily subverted the government. Twenty or more people were killed, including a number of

the police of the city. The streets of the city were stained with blood All that was desired in the way of excitement had been accomplished, and in view of the steps taken to repress it the revolution was apparently, though, it is believed, not really, abandoned, and the cry of federal usurpation and tyranny in Louisiana was renewed with redoubled energy. Troops had been sent to the State under this rejuisition of the Governor, and as other disturb ances seemed imminent they were allowed to remight become necessary to enforce the laws of

which seemed inevitable the moment federal sup-

THE WHITE LEAGUES. Prior to and with a view to the late election in Louisiana white men associated themselves to-gether in armed bodies, called "White Leagues," and at the same time statements were made in the democratic journals of the State that the election should be against the republicans at all hazards, which very naturally greatly slarmed the colored voters.

By section 8 of the act of February 28, 1871, it is made the duty of United States marshals and their deputies at the polls where votes are cast for representatives in Congress, to keep the peace, and prevent any violations of the called Enforcement acts and other offences against the laws of the United States; and upon a requisition of the Marshal of Louisiana, and in view of said armed organizations and other portentous circumstances, I caused detachments of troops to be stationed in various localities in the State to aid him in the performance of his official duties. That there was intimidation of republican voters at the election, notwithstanding these precautions, admits of no doubt. The following are specimens of the means used:—
INTIMIDATION EVIDENCE.

On the 14th of October eighty persons signed and

published the following at Shreveport :-"We, the undersigned, merchants of the city of Shreveport, in obedience to a request of the Shreveport Campaign Club, agree to use every endeavor to get our employes to vote the people's ticket at the ensuing election, and in the event of their refusal so to do, or in case they vote the radical ticket, to rejuse to employ them at the expiration of their present contracts." On the same day another large body of persons

published in the same place a paper in which they used the following language:"We, the undersigned, merchants of the city of Shreveport, alive to the great importance of se-

cuting good and honest government to the State. do agree and pledge ourselves not to advance any supplies or money to any planter the coming year who will give employment or rent lands to laborers who vote the radical ticket in the coming THE RETURNING BOARD JUSTIFIED.

I nave no information of the proceedings of the Returning Board for said election which may not be found in its report which has been published. but it is a matter of public information that a great part of the time taken to canvass the votes was consumed by the argument of lawyers, several of whom represented each party before the Board. I have no evidence that the proceedings of this Board were not in accordance with the law under which they acted. Whether in excluding from the count certain returns they were right or wrong is a question that depends upon the evidence they had before them. But it is very clear that the law gives them the power, if they choose to exercise it, of deciding that way, and prima facie the persons whom they return as elected are entitled to the offices for which they were candidates.

THE STORY OF THE OUTRAGE. Respecting the alleged interference by the mili-

tary with the organization of the Legislature of Louisiana on the 4th inst., I have no knowledge or information which has not been received by since that time and published; my first information was from the papers of the morning of the 5th of January. I did not that any such thing was anticipated, and no orders or suggestions were ever given to any military effect in that State prior to the occurrence. I am well aware that any military interference by the officers or troops of the United States with the organization of a State Legislature or any of its proceedings, or with any civil department of the government, is repugnant to case not involving rebellion or insurrection where such interference by authority of the general government ought to be permitted or can be justified. But there are circumstances connected with the legislative imbroglio in Louisiana which seem to exempt the military from any intentional wrong in Louisiana to prevent domestic violence and aid in the enforcement of the State laws. The officers and troops of the United States may well have supposed that it was their duty to act when called upon by the Governor for that purpose. Each branch of the Legislative Assembly is the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members; but if another body of unauthorized persons seize and hold the Legislative Hall in a tumultoons and riotous manner, and so prevent any organization by those legally returned as elected, it might be the duty of and so prevent any organization by those segally returned as elected, it maybt be the duty of the State Executive to interfere if required by a majority of the members elect to suppress the disturbances and enable the persons elected to organize the House. Any exercise of this power would only be justifiable under most extraordinary circumstances, and it would then be the duty of the Governor to call upon the constabutary, or, if necessary, the military force of the State. But wits reference to Louisiana State. But with reference to Louisia ti sto be borne in mind that any attempt by t Governor to use the police force of that State this time would have undoubtedly hastened a confict with the White League, as it did on the 1 of September. There is no doubt but that t presence of the United States troops upon that casion prevented bloodshed and the loss of it casion prevented bloodshed and the loss of life. Both parties appear to nave relied upon them as conservators of the public peace. The first call was made by the democrats to remove persons obnoxious to them from the Legislative Hall, and the second was from the republicans to remove persons who had nourped seats in the Legislature without legal certificates authorizing them to seats, and in sufficient number to change the majority. Nobody was disturbed by the military who had a legal right at that time to occupy a seat in the Legislature. That the democratic minority of the House undertook to selze its organization by fraud and violence: that in this attempt they trampled under foot law; that they undertook to make persons not returned as elected, members, so as to create a majority; that gemocratic misority of the reuses undervoor to setze its organization by fraud and violence; that in this attempt they trampled under foot law; that they undertook to make persons not returned as elected, members, so as to create a majority; that they acted under a preconcerted plan and under false pretences introduced into the Hall a body of men to support their pretentions by force, if mecessary, and that conflict, disorder and riotous proceedings followed, are facts that seem to be well established, and I am credibly informed that these violent proceedings were a part of a premeditated plan to have the House organized in this way, recognize what has been called the McEnery Senate, then to depose Governor Kellorg, and so revolutionize the State government. Whether it was wrong for the Governor, at the request of a majority of the members returned as elected to the House, to use such means as were in his power to defeat those lawless and revolutionary proceedings is, perhaps, a debatable question; but it is quite certain that there would have been no trouble if they who now complain of illegal interference had allowed the House to be organized in a lawful and regular manner. When those who inaugurated disorder and anarchy disavow harsh proceedings it will be time enough to condemn those who by such means as they have prevent the success of their lawless and desperate scheines. Lieutenaut General Sheridan was requested by me to go to Louistana to observe and report the situation there, and if, in his opinion necessary, to assume the command, which he did on the 4 mist after the legislative disturbances had occurred, at nine o'clock at night, a number of hours after the disturbance.

SHERIDAN VINDICATED.

No party motives or prejudices can reasonably be imputed to him; but, honestly convinced by what he headers of the "White Leagues" in severe terms, and suggested summary modes of procedure against them, which, though they cannot be softed. Sheridan was looking at facts, and possibly not thinking oi proceedings

NO ILLEGAL BODIES TO BE TOLERATED.

It is a depiorable lact that political crimes and murders have been committed in Louisians which have gone unpunished, and which have been justified or applopized for, which must rest as a reproact upon the State and country long after the present question has passed away. I have no desire to have United States troops interiers in the domestic concerns of Louisiana or any other State. On the 9th of December last Governor Kellogg telegraphed to me his apprehensions that the White Leagne intended to make anoster attack upon the State House, to which, on the same day, I made the following answer, since which no communication has been addressed to him:—"Your despatch of this date just received. It is exceedingly unpalatable to use troops in anticipation of danger. Let the State authorities be right and then proceed with their duties without apprehension of danger. If they are then molested the question will be determined whether the United States is able to maintain law and order within its limits or not." I have deplored the necessity which seemed to make it my duty under the constitution and laws to direct such interference. I have always refused. axcent where it seamed to be my

Imperative duty to act in such a manner under the constitution and laws of the United States. I have repeatedly and earnestly entreated the people of the South to live together in peace and obey the laws, thereby removing all necessity for the presence of troops among them. I regret, however, to say that this state of things does not exist, nor does its existence seem to be desired in some localities; and as to those it may be proper for me to say that to the extent that Congress has conierred power upon me to prevent it, neither Ku Kiux Kians, Waite Leacues, nor any other association using arms and violence to execute their unlawful purposes, can be permitted in that way to govern any part of this country, nor can I see with indifference Union men or republicans ostracised, persecuted and murdered on account of their opinions, as they now are in some localities. imperative duty to act in such a manner under the constitution and laws of the United States. I have

can I see with moliference Union men or republicans estractsed, persecuted and murdered on account of their opinions, as they now are in some localities.

CONGRESS TO BLAME.

I have heretolore urged the case of Louisiana upon the attention of Congress, and I cannot but think that its inaction has produced great evil. To summarize:—In September last an armed, organized body of men in the support of candidates who had been par in nomination for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor at the November election in 1872, and who had been declared not elected by the Board of Canvassers recognized by all the courts to which the question had been submitted, undertook to subvert and overthrow the State government that had been recognized by me in accordance with previous precedents. The recognized Governor was driven from the State House, and but for his finding shelter in the United States Oustom House in the capital of the States of which he was Governor it is exarcely to be doubted that he would have been killed. From the State House, and but fourth section, fourth article of the constitution of the United States for the aid of the general government to suppress domestic violence. Under those circumstances and in accordance with my sworn duties my proclamation of the Island States for the aid of the general government to suppress domestic violence. Under those circumstances and in accordance with my sworn duties my proclamation of the Island of September, 1874, was issued. This served to reinstate Governor Kellogs to his position nofminally, but it cannot be called out at any swort of the state of the same general instructions. I repeat that the same armed organizations that existed on the 14th of September in opposition to the recognized State government still retain their organization, equipments and commanders, and can be called out at any hour to resist the State government is prevented to the same general instructions. I repeat that the task assumed by the troops is not a pleasant one to their; that the t

THE DOCUMENTS.

The documents accompanying the President's Message are voluminous. The first is a letter from Governor Kellogg, dated August 19 last, addressed to President Grant at Long Branch, in which Governor Kellogg regrets to have to trouble him again about Louisiana affairs, but the exceptional circumstances and the importance of the issues involved render it necessary he should make a brief statement of the situation, which he proceeds to do, premising that Louisiana is now the last State in the Southwest, except Mississippi, that remains true to the republican party. He concludes by saying :-

If concludes by saying:—

I respecticily and earnestly suggest that if the United States troops were returned to their posts in this State such a course would have a most salutary effect, and would prevent much blood-shed and probably a formal call upon the President and a renewed agitation of the Louisiana question, which otherwise a quiet, iair election next November would lorever set at rest, and fully vindicate your just policy toward us.

More requests for troops.

Marshal Packard, on August 30 last, telegraphs Attorney General Williams a request to the Secretary of War to order a sufficient force immediately to aid in the discharge of his duties as required by law. The registration was about to commence. Large bodies of armed and mounted white men had appeared. Through fear of them the blacks would be unable to register or vote in case of a condict, which Packard regarded as im-

ney General Williams of a gross outrage, which had just been perpetrated at Coushatta. The lence and bloodshed. He said there was "an openly avowed policy of exterminating republi-Information is sent to Attorney General Williams

by Marshal Puckard and District Attorney Beckwith, dated September 10 and 13, of the proceedings of the White Leagues, and urging the necessity for troops to prevent murder, &c. On the 14th Governor Kellogg makes a requisition on the President to take measures to put

down the domestic violence and insurrection then prevailing. General by Marshal Puckard and others, asserting that armed mobs were reported all over New Orleans, Leaguers are much more formidable than

is supposed, &c. LIPE "A PRECIOUS ARTICLE." The Mayor of St. Francisville telegraphs Sep-

tember 19 to the Attorney General:-The timely arrival of federal troops has saved the lives of unoffending republicans. We look conddently to the loyal North for the support which they have so generously extended the weak, and hope the protection of the government will continue until the elections are over. Life is dear to us and we cannot risk an article so precious when surrounded by murderous white Leaguers.

TROOPS, TROOPS, TROOPS. Mr. Packard, November 1, requests a post to be established at Natchitoches, and General Emory be ordered to place a company of troops there. October 19, S. B. Packard, chairman of the State Central Committee, and Governor Kellogg. Mesers. Durell, Casey, Sypher and Morey address a telegram to Attorney General Williams, say

ing:—
We have authentic information that systematic violence and intimidation will be practised toward republican voters on the day of election at three or four points in this State, and we earnestly request that General Emory be instructed to send troops to Franklin, St. Mary's parish; Napoleon-ville, Assumption parish, and Moreauville, Avoy-elles parish. Governor Kellogg will furnish transportation to these points without cost to the government. ernment.

WHITE LEAGUE PURPOSES. On December 9 Governor Kellogg telegraphed

President Grant :-Information reaches me that the White League Information reaches me that the White League purpose making an attack upon the State House, especially that portion occupied by the Treasurer of the State. The organization is very numerous and well armed, and the State forces now available are not sundeent to resist successfully any movement they may make. With a view of preventing such an attempt and the bloodshed which would be likely to result should an insurgent body gain possession of the State House in dispersing them, I respectfully request that a detachment of United States troops be stationed in that portion of the State offices, where they will be readily available to prevent any such insurrectionary movement as that contemplated.

VIOLENCE THERATENED.

VIOLENCE THREATENED. Ex-Governor Wells, President of the State Re-

turning Board, telegraphed to the President De

cember 16th:—

The members of the Board are being publicly and privately threatened with violence, and an attack upon the State House—which is likely to result in bloodshed—is also threatened. By request of the Board I respectfully ask that a detachment of troops be stationed in the State House so that the deliberations and final action of the Board may before from intumidation and violence.

PRIGHTENING THE WEGROUS The United States Commissioner for Shreveport, A. B. Levisa, gives a full statement of the condition of affairs in North Louisiana. referring

to an alleged scheme to expel from the country ican leaders, and then to frighten the the republ negroes into acquiescence with their wishes; and charging that the whites were driving the freedmen from their homes, naked and penniless, to endure the severities of winter as best they might. The negroes are cheated of their rights and have no redress with the mixed juries of the local courts.

CONFIDENTIAL TO SHERIDAN.

courts.

CONFIDENTIAL TO SHERIDAN.

The following was communicated confidentially to General Sheridan:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 24, 1874.

To General P. H. Shermann, Chicago, Ill.;—

GENERAL—The President sent for me this morning, and desires me to say to you that he wishes you to visit the States of Louisiana and Mississippi, and especially New Orleans, La., and Victaburg and Jackson, Miss., and ascertain for yourself, and for his information, the general condition of matters in those logalities. You need not confine your visit to the States of Louisiana and Mississippi and may extend your trip to other States, Alabama, &c., if you see proper, nor need you confine your visit in the States of Louisiana and Mississippi and may extend your trip to other States, Alabama, &c., if you see proper, nor need you confine your visit in the States of Louisiana and Mississippi to the places named. What the President desires is the true condition of affairs and to receive such suggestions from you as you may deem advisable and judicious. Inclosed herewith is an order authorizing you to assume command of the Military Division of the South, or any borsion of that division, should you see proper to do so. It may be possible that circumstances may arise which would render this a proper course to pursue. You can, if you desire it, see General McDowell in Louisville and make known to him confidentially the object of your trip, but this is not required of you. Communication with him by you is left entirely to your own judgment. Of course you can take with you such gentlemen of your staff as you wish, and it is best that the trip should appear to be one as much of pleasure as of business, for the fact of your mere presence in the localities referred to your mere presence in the localities r

The following despatch authorizes the Lieutenant General to take command over the Military Division of the South, should he deem it neces

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OPFICE,
WARHINGTON, Dec. 24, 1874

To Lieutenant General P. H. Shekidan, United
States Army, Chicago, Ill.:—
Sir.—Il in the course of the inspection and investigation the Secretary of War has directed you
to make in his communication of this date you
should find it necessary to assume command over
the Military Division of the South, or any portion
thereof, the President of the United States nereby
authorizes and instructs you to take the command
accordingly, and to establish your headquarters
at such a point as you may deem best for the interests of the public service,
I am, sir, very respectfully, your opedient seryaat, E. D. TOWNSEND, Adjutant General.
A copy of the above letter was furnished Gen-

A copy of the above letter was furnished General McDowell, commanding the Military Division of the South, on January 5, 1875, [TELEGRAM.]
HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION)

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION
OF THE MISSOURI,
CHICAGO, Ill., Dec. 26, 1874.
To General W. W. BELKNAP, Washington, D. C.:
Your letter has been received all right.
P. H. SHERIDAN, Lieutenant General.
CONFIDENTIAL TO SHERMAN.
HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
Sr. LOUIS, Dec. 23, 1874.
GENERAL—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential communication of December 28, with enclosures. Your obedient servant,
W. T. SHERMAN, General.
TO W. W. BELKNAP, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. TELEGRAM PROM WILTZ.

Next follows a telegram of Mr. Wiltz to the President, informing him of his election as Speaker of the House, and protesting against armed interference with the Legislature. THE "BANDITTI" DESPATCH.

Next appear the telegrams of Sheridan, dated January 5, addressed to the Secretary of War, relating to terrorism, banditti, &c. LETTER FROM MAJOR MERRILL

General Sheridan sends to the War Department. for its information, a letter from Major Merrill, dated Shreveport, December 30. He gives the facts as to the probabilities of violence there, and The three republican members declared elected

The three republican members declared elected to the Legislature by the Returning Board, who have gone to New Orleans to take their seats, beyond doubt could not safely return here now, Outside of the officers hauned above there is no one left to do violence upon; the leading radicals have left; the worrying and harassing of the negroes goes on with little intermission, but lately no acts of violence to the person have come to my knowledge. Such acts now are confined to plundering them, with or without some show of legal form, and driving them from their homes to seek places to live elsewhere. The conflict for offices, whether conducted by peaceable, legal means or violence, will stop what little legal check now exists upon crime and wrongdoing, and will greatly aggravate the condition of things, which is already serious enough. But I do not apprehend that it will result in extended disorder at present, because there is nothing leit to work upon except the commoner orders, and partly because the leading White Leaguers have gone to New Orleans. SHERIDAN'S CATALOGUE OF MURDERS.

The telegrams of General Sheridan to the Secreformer, heretofore published, appear in the correspondence, and also the following telegram:-

[TELEGRAM.]
NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 10—10:30 P. M.
W. BELENAP, Secretary of War, Washin

since the year 1866 nearly thirty-five hundred persons—agreat majority of whom were colored men—have been killed and wounded in this State. In 1865 the official record shows that 1,854 were killed and wounded. From 1808 to the present time no official investigation has been made, and the civil authorities in all but a few classes have been unable to arready the made peniam the perpeture of the control of the

votes against the nominees of the white man's party." Safety for individuals who express their opinion in the isolated portion of this State has existed only when that opinion was in favor of the principles and party supported by the Ku Klux and White League organizations. Only yeaterday Judge Myers, the Parish Judge of the parish of Natchitoenes, called on me upon his arrival in this city, and stated has, in order to reach here alive, he was obliged to leave his home by stealth and afternightfall and make his way to Livite Rock, Ark., and come to this city by way of Memphis. He further states that, while his father was lying at the point of death in the same village he was unable to visit him for lear of assassilation, and yet he is a naive of the parish and proscribed for his political sentiments only. It is more than probable that, if had government has existed in this State, it is the result of

THE ARMED OAGANIZATIONS
which have now crystallized into what is called "The White League." Instead of bad government developing them, they have by their terrorism prevented to a considerable extent the collection of taxes, the hoking of cours, the punishment of riminals, and vitiated public sentiment by familiarizing it with the scenes above described. I am now engaged in compiling evidence for a detailed report upon the above subject, but it will be some time before I can obtain all the requisite data to cover the cases that have occurred throughout the State. I will also report in due

ce some time before I can obtain all the requisite data to cover the cases that have occurred throughout the State. I will also report in due time upon the same subject in the States of Arkansas and Mississippi.

P. H. SHERIDAN, Licutenant General.

To. W. W. BRIKNAF, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Here follows another despatch from General Sheridan, already published, mitmating his in-

tention of sending the foregoing report.

MORE DESPATCHES. General Sheridan also sends a communication to the Secretary of War, no signature attached, illuskidnapping a member elect of the Legislature. Next follows Sheridan's telegram to the Secretary of War, dated January 8, already published, sub-mitting a report of affairs as they occurred in the organization of the State Legislato

THE WHITE LEAGUE PLATFORM. Louisiana newspapers, showing the piatform of the White League and the intentions of the organization, the following serving as a specimen :-

ization, the following serving as a specimen:

The lines must-be drawn at once, before our opponents are thorougally organized, for by this means we will prevent many milk and cider fellows from failing into the enemy's ranks. While the write man's party guarantees the negro all of his present rights they do not intend that white carnet-baggers and renegades shall be permitted to organize and prepare the negroes for the coming campaign. Without the assistance of these villains the negroes are totally incapable of effectually organizing themselves, and unless they are previously excited and drilled one-half of them will not come to the poils and a large percentage of the remainder will vote the white man's ticket.

COMMENT IN WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1875. OPINIONS ON THE PRESIDENT'S LOUISIANA MES-SAGE-AN ATTEMPT TO MISLEAD PUBLIC SENTI-MENT-A PROPOSED SOUTHERN POLICY. That the President's Message is an extremely

shrewd and clever document is the unanimous opinion here. "It takes for granted a certain nam. ber of disputed points and bases a very plausible argument upon them," was a remark made of it. It is now easy to see why the President so carefully avoided seeing any member of the New Orleans committee. If he had committed the imprudence of asking that committee what the evidence they heard proved he could not have signed his name to this Message, for they would have had to inform him that-first, the Returning Board, which he justifies, committed open and clumsy frauds sufficient to vittate all its proceedings; and second, that no evidence was brought to them, though they constantly demanded it, showing intimidation of republican voters at the last election, which yet the President asserts to have existed. If he had taken the pains to read the printed report of the evidence in the newspapers he could hardly have made such asfor a sight of the complete evidence or a brief of it, which they must have brought home with them. "While he affects the greatest desire to obey Congress, he insults it through its committee," was said in 'conversation this evening; but the answer of a zealons upinformed him that it was about to send a committee to Louisiana, and, as he had no official knowledge of such a proceeding, it was not his duty to see them on their return and to look to them for information. Meantime people begin to see why it was that Mr. Hoar, who has suddenly turned up as a devoted partisan of the President, was so zealous to keep back the subcommittee's report: why a rumor was spread that the report was "not ready," and why Mr. Charles Foster, the chairman of the sub-committee, has been besieged by Mr. Hoar and by anxious carpet-baggers and coaxed to alter and trim and change the paraseology of the report, which it is now known was ready on Monday and presented to the committee on that day. The matnd Mr. Hoar enjoins secrecy and makes mysterious remarks, and no one here knows this evening even whether this report, the only document giving the condition of Lomsians affaire which rests on sworn evidence given by both sides to the controversy before a competent au-thority, will ever see the light. As to the full testimony which would enable the public to form its own conclusions, it is now said that this will not time "the party" may have invented a policy, or, if not, the session will be so near its end that a full discussion of the Louisiana question cannot be

"The Message is a deliberate and very clever at tempt to mislead public opinion," said an astute politician here this evening, "and it will probably succeed. The New Orleans committee's report, if it ever sees the light, will come too late." This

Meantime the debate in the Senate goes on. General Logan occupied the day and, having a effective speech of the savage and blood-thirsty is said that he prepared this speech after consultation with the while the latter was still in his early wrath with Louisians, and that he would not or did not change it to conform to the milder words of the Message, as that was changed and now stands; but it is more probable that an agreement was made that the mild tone of the Message should be supplemented by strong words in the Senate. Senator Tipton will speak to-morrow, and the discussion will last a week or ten days and will probably be closed by Mr. Schurz.

The lack of confidence in the President's pur-

poses and the belief that he may easily be led into wild and vehement measures by his intimates is curiously shown by the general expression of satisfaction here that there is to be no such break in the Cabinet as was rumored. One of the most that it gave. bim the greatest satisfaction that Mr. Pish remained, and that he should have thought his resignation at this moment a grave public calamity, and this iceling is general among those on both sides who are not venement partisans. Whether Congress will need the President's request to provide him with a policy in regard to the Southern States is not certain. It is possible that the session may pass over without bringing the faithful to an agreement. The violence of some of the carpet-baggers begins to disgust the better class of republicans, one of whom, a New England man, said to-day that he would not go into caucus if these people were to rule and to make their dethe Louisians committee will report to the House to-morrow, but this is not certain. The sub-committee mean to have their report read; but Mr. Hoar may invent new delays, so as to give the to make its impression on the public mind. The Southern policy now taked of is to make appropriations for the pay and subsistence of the army for two years, and to revive the law which gave the President power, in his discretion, to declare man tial law in any Southern district. This, it is supposed, would, if a pretext was given by violence or disorder, lead to the throwing out of a certain number of Southern electoral votes in the elec-tion of 1876, but whether such a scheme can be

carried through Congress is as yet doubter